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ABSTRACT

This bibliographic essay supports a K-16 history curriculum called "Crossroads," which is chronologically organized into 12 historical periods. The bibliographic essay presents authoritative and accessible thematic treatments of U.S. history and scholarship for each period. Paperback books are indicated by an asterisk. Following a preface and a section on general or thematic studies, the bibliography is divided into 12 essays: (1) "A World of Their Own: The Americas to 1500"; (2) "Contact: Europe and America Meet, 1492-1620"; (3) "The Founding of New Societies, 1607-1763"; (4) "What Was the American Revolution? 1760-1836"; (5) "The Ambiguous Democracy, 1800-1848"; (6) "'Now We Are Engaged in a Great Civil War,' 1848-1880"; (7) "'What, Then, Is This American?' 1865-1900"; (8) "Waves of Reform, 1880-1921"; (9) "Boom and Bust, 1921-1933"; (10) "The Age of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945"; (11) "Leader of the Free World, 1945-1975"; and (12) "A Nation in Quandary, 1975-." (BT)

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CROSSROADS

A K-16 American History Curriculum

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

by Richard B. Bernstein

A joint project of the Niskayuna School District and The Sage Colleges

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Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching (FIRST) of the
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CROSSROADS: A K-16 American History Curriculum

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Preface

In 1992, The Sage Colleges (Troy, NY) and the Niskayuna School District (Niskayuna, NY) received a three-year grant from the Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching (FIRST) of the U.S. Department of Education to develop a seamless K-16 curriculum in American history. The curriculum, called *Crossroads,* is composed of thirty-six units equally distributed among elementary, middle, and high school grade levels, as well as course syllabi for preservice social studies educators on the subjects of American history and history education. The curriculum is chronologically organized into twelve historical periods--each covered by a unit at each of the three grade levels.

Each unit begins with an essay on the history and historiography of the period written by the project historian, Richard B. Bernstein, an Associate of the Council for Citizenship Education at The Sage Colleges and an adjunct faculty member at New York Law School and distinguished historian. The unit plans were then written by teams of Niskayuna and Sage teachers after a year-long seminar in American history and historiography with Professor Bernstein. Following their preparation, elementary and middle school units were field tested within the Niskayuna District and in the Albany City School District. The middle school curriculum was also field tested in two Ohio districts. All units were reviewed by an advisory panel. The project is directed by Stephen L. Schechter, a Professor of Political Science and Director of the Council for Citizenship Education at The Sage Colleges, and by Henry E. Mueller, Niskayuna Middle School Social Studies Coordinator. The project is administered by the Council for Citizenship Education.

Developed by the Niskayuna-Sage partnership, the "crossroads" model of curriculum development begins with three strategic junctures of history education: (1) at grades seven and eight, where a natural "crossroads" already exists between elementary and secondary education, between childhood and adolescence, and between an interest in the concrete and a capacity to grapple with the abstract; (2) in the first year of postsecondary education, where students are taking surveys of American history, government, and education which can provide a critical juncture between secondary and postsecondary education; and (3) in capstone experiences of postsecondary education, notably social studies methods and student teaching, in which students experience another transition, this time between their undergraduate experience in postsecondary education and the prospect of a teaching career rich in lifelong learning experiences.

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American history has spawned a vast literature; books and scholarly and popular journals cover geographic, ecological, ethnic, racial, demographic, political, constitutional, legal, social, economic, religious, cultural, intellectual, scientific, technological, and even sexual history. This Bibliographic Essay presents the most authoritative and accessible thematic treatments of American history and scholarship for each period. Paperbacks are indicated by an asterisk throughout.

GENERAL OR THEMATIC STUDIES

The following valuable general or thematic studies span the whole of American history:

*Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

*American Social History Project (planned by Herbert Gutman), *Who Built America?*, 2 vols. New York: Pantheon, 1990, 1992.

*Richard B. Bernstein (with Jerome Agel), *Amending America: If We Love the Constitution So Much, Why Do We Keep Trying to Change It?* New York: Times Books, 1993; paperback ed., Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Richard B. Bernstein and Jerome Agel, *Of the People, By the People, For the People: The Congress, the Presidency, and the Supreme Court in American History*. New York: Wings Books, 1993. (Orig. ed.: Richard B. Bernstein and Jerome Agel, *Into the Third Century*, 3 vols. (*The Congress*, *The Presidency*, *The Supreme Court* [New York: Walker, 1989].)

*Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans*, 3 vols. New York: Random House, 1958-1974.

I. *The Colonial Experience* (1958)
II. *The National Experience* (1963)
III. *The Democratic Experience* (1974)

*Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. New York: Knopf, 1993 (McGraw-Hill text paperback).

*Warren I. Cohen, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*, 4 vols. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1993:

I. Bradford Perkins, *The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865*.
II. Walter LaFeber, *The American Search for Opportunity, 1865-1913*.
III. Akira Iriye, *The Globalizing of America, 1913-1945*.
IV. Warren I. Cohen, *American in the Age of Soviet Power, 1945-1991*.

Henry Steele Commager (with Milton Cantor), ed., *Documents of American History*, 10th ed. in 3 vols. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1986.

*Lawrence M. Cremin, *American Education*, 3 vols. New York: Harper & Row, 1970-1988.

I. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783* (1970).
II. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1865* (1980).
III. *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1865-1980* (1988).

*David Currie, *The Constitution in the Supreme Court*, 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, 1989:

I. *The Constitution in the Supreme Court: 1787-1886* (1986).
II. *The Constitution in the Supreme Court: The Second Century, 1886-1986* (1989).

*James West Davidson and Mark Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection*, 2d ed. New York: Knopf, 1987.

*Louis Fisher, *Constitutional Conflicts Between Congress and the President*, 3d ed. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991.

*John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans*, 7th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill/Knopf Textbooks, 1994.

*Lawrence M. Friedman, *American Law*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1984.

*Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law*, 2d ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985.

*Lawrence M. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

John A. Garraty, ed., *The Young Reader's Companion to American History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994.

John A. Garraty and Eric S. Foner, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990.

*Kermit Hall, *The Magic Mirror: Law in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

*Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women*. New York: New York University Press, 1992 (rev. ed. in paperback, 1994).

*Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition: And the Men Who Made It*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948; 25th anniversary edition, 1973.

*Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

*Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

*Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of History in American Culture*. New York: Knopf, 1991.

*Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox: An Inquiry into the Origins of American Civilization*. New York: Knopf, 1972.

*Alfred H. Kelly, Winfred A. Harbison, and Herman Belz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*, 7th ed. in 2 vols. New York: W. W. Norton, 1991.

Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.

*Robert G. McCloskey with Sanford J. Levinson, *The American Supreme Court*, 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds., *The Oxford History of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

*Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Concise History of the American Republic*, 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. (The most up-to-date version of Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 7th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Richard B. Morris, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of American History*, 6th ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1982.

*Allan Nevins, Henry Steele Commager, and Jeffrey B. Morris, *The Pocket History of the United States*, 9th ed. New York: Washington Square Press, 1992.

*David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.

*David M. Potter (Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed.), *History and American Society: Essays of David M. Potter*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

*Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993.

*Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973.

*Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890*. New York: Atheneum, 1985.

*Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Atheneum, 1992.

*Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.

*Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. New York: Little, Brown, 1993.

Melvyn I. Urofsky, *A March of Liberty: A Constitutional History of the United States*. New York: Knopf, 1988.

*David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

*G. Edward White, *The American Judicial Tradition: Profiles of Leading American Judges*, rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 (orig. ed., 1976).

*Richard White, *"It's All Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

*Charles Reagan Wilson et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Southern Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990 (paperback edition in 4 volumes, New York: Doubleday, 1991).

*Ted Yanak and Pam Cornelison, eds., *The Great American History Fact-Finder*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1993. **Useful for students.**

ESSAY I. A WORLD OF THEIR OWN: THE AMERICAS TO 1500

*Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Indian Heritage of America* (original ed., New York: Knopf, 1968; revised and expanded ed., New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1991) is the single best book of its type. *Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., and Frederick E. Hoxie, eds., *America in 1492* (New York: Knopf, 1991) is a unique collaborative study of the Americas before the Europeans arrived, scholarly yet accessible. See also Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., et al., *500 Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); *Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), and *Francis Jennings, *The Discoverers of America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993).

Another valuable resource, on a somewhat more scholarly level, is the work of Professor James Axtell of the College of William and Mary, who is one of the nation's leading scholars in a new discipline, "ethnohistory," combining history, anthropology, and ethnology. Axtell's most accessible books are his collections of essays: **The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), **After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), and **Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

A fine book on one Indian people's legal system, unfortunately out of print, is John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970); its sequel -- John Phillip Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet* (State College, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1975) -- examines the first contacts between the Cherokee and English explorers and settlers, closely interpreting the English accounts to understand Cherokee ideas about law.

Teachers should be aware of two useful and responsible series of books for young-adult readers -- "Indians of North America," published by Chelsea House, and "The First Americans," published by Facts on File.

The controversy about the Indians as "forgotten founders" reached the mainstream public in *Bruce E. Johansen, *Forgotten Founders* (Boston: Gambit, 1973); Johansen's study is strong on eloquence but weak on conventional historical proof. The two most serious, responsible, and convincing presentations of the view that Indians were among the intellectual forbears of American constitutionalism are *Donald A. Grinde, Jr., and Bruce E. Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty* (Los Angeles: University of California -- American Indian Studies Center, 1991); Oren Lyons, John Mohawk, Vine Deloria, Jr., Laurence Hauptman, Howard Berman, Donald Grinde, Jr., Curtis Berkey, and Robert Venables, *Exiled in the Land of the Free: Democracy, Indian Nations, and the U.S. Constitution* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1992).

*Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955; W. W. Norton paperback) provides a valuable depiction of the Indian peoples with whom one of the first great students of Indian life had contact.

* * * *

ESSAY II. CONTACT: EUROPE AND AMERICA MEET, 1492-1620

As for Essay II, the essays of James Axtell are an invaluable resource: *James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); *James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); *James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). *The European and the Indian* also contains a valuable long essay that summarizes Axtell's major work on the ethnohistory of North America, juxtaposing the English, French, and Indians. Axtell has published only the first of three projected volumes: *James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Also indispensable is *John Noble Wilford, *The Mysterious History of Columbus* (New York: Knopf, 1991; Vintage, 1992), the single best book for the general reader on Christopher Columbus, on the history that he made, on the historiographical controversies surrounding him, and on his posthumous reputation and significance. (Axtell, in *Beyond 1492*, provides an excellent overview of most of the recent work on Columbus.) On Columbus, see also *Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (2 vols., Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1942; reprinted, 1992) and *Samuel Eliot Morison, *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (new ed., New York: New American Library, 1988). On exploration, *Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Great Explorers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), an abridgment of *Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: I. The Northern Voyages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) and*Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: II. The Southern Voyages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974). As Wilford points out, Morison is partial to his explorers as sailors; while there is no better writer on the challenges facing sailors and navigators in this period, he minimizes the deleterious consequences of their arrivals. For an excellent modern edition of the most impassioned contemporary indictment of the damage done to the Americas by the Spanish, see *Bartolome de Las Casas (Anthony Pagden, ed.), *Brief History of the Destruction of the Indies* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1992). See also an excellent anthology of Enlightenment writings indicting the European colonization of the Americas: Henry Steele Commager and Elmo Giordanetti, eds., *Was America a Mistake? An Eighteenth-Century Controversy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

The two best syntheses of American colonial history, which include the voyages of English, French, and Dutch explorers and early efforts to found colonies, are *R.C. Simmons, *The American Colonies* (New York: David McKay, 1976; W. W. Norton paperback, 1981), and *Richard Middleton, *The American Colonies* (London and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1992). See also Wallace Notestein, *The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); David B. Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966); *J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 1992); *Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975; W. W. Norton paperback).

* * * *

ESSAY III. THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOCIETIES, 1607-1763

Again, the best syntheses of American colonial history are *R.C. Simmons, *The American Colonies* (New York: David McKay, 1976; W. W. Norton paperback, 1981), and *Richard Middleton, *The American Colonies* (London and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1992). A superb brief bibliography is *Philip D. Morgan and David Ammerman, *1001 Books on Early American History* (Williamsburg, Va.: Institute for Early American History and Culture, 1991). *The William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser., 1944--) is the best scholarly periodical in the field.

Colonial history is the biggest "growth" field in American history. It has a myriad of specialties -- religious, political, cultural, legal, social, women, ethnic, immigration, economic, literary, constitutional. Of special note are the following, presented in no particular order: *Edward Perkins, *The Economy of Colonial America*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); *John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991); *Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York: Knopf, 1968); *Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); *Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986); *Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West* (New York: Knopf, 1986); *Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991); *Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); John E. Pomfret and Floyd M. Shumway, *Founding the American Colonies, 1583-1660* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); *Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery,*

American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974); *Edmund S. Morgan, *Roger Williams: The Church and the State* (1967; New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); *John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); *Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984; Columbia University Press paperback, 1985); *William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983); Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930); *Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962); *Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956); Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York* (New York: Scribner's, 1973); Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); *David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972; Harvard paperback, 1987); *Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York: Knopf, 1971); *David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) (the first of a four-volume history of ethnic influences on American development); *Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966); *Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982; W. W. Norton paperback); *Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); *Paul Boyer and Stephen W. Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); *Carol Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: Knopf, 1987); *Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1763* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); *Richard L. Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1985); *Kym S. Rice, *Colonial American Taverns* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway for Fraunces Tavern Museum, 1983); Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979); Thomas Curry, *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Harry M. Ward, *The United Colonies of New England, 1643-90* (New York: Vantage Press, 1961); Harry M. Ward, *"Unite or Die": Intercolony Relations, 1690-1763* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1973); Robert C. Newbold, *The Albany Congress and Plan of Union of 1754* (New York: Vantage Press, 1955). *Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958), should not be overlooked (although Boorstin deliberately slights the intellectual history of the colonies, emphasizing the colonists' pragmatism). *Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1994), is a wonderful book that explores issues of colonial social, political, family, ethnic, and racial history with a minimum of jargon and a wealth of superb pictures.

* * * *

ESSAY IV. WHAT WAS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION? 1760-1836

The era of the Revolutionary generation has spawned an extraordinarily rich and impressive scholarly literature -- both editions of primary sources and monographs:

GENERAL: *Richard B. Bernstein with Kym S. Rice, *Are We to Be a Nation? The Making of the Constitution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987) is an accessible synthesis; its endnotes provide a useful bibliography of the literature on the Revolution through 1986, supplemented by Richard B. Bernstein, "Review Essay: Charting the Bicentennial," *Columbia Law Review* 87 (1987): 1565-1624. *Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), is an authoritative reference work. *Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, eds., *The Spirit of Seventy-six* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976; paper ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1994) is a fine documentary history woven from the speeches and writings of those who took part in the Revolution. *Richard B. Morris, *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), **Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny: The Founding Fathers as Revolutionaries* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), and **Witnesses at the Creation: Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and the Constitution* (New York: Holt, 1985; NAL, 1987), are especially valuable. *Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), is Morris' magnum opus -- an authoritative and accessible history of the Confederation and the making of the Constitution.

ORIGINS: *Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967; expanded ed., 1992); *Bernard Bailyn, *Faces of Revolution: Personalities and Themes in the Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1990; Vintage paperback); *John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967); *Pauline G. Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1972; reprint, W. W. Norton, 1991); *Pauline G. Maier, *The Old Revolutionaries* (New York: Knopf, 1980; reprint, W. W. Norton, 1991); Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); *Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Coming of the Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); *Hiller Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); *Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1987); *Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in George Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1952; reprinted by Free Press as *American Revolutionaries in the Making*).

CONTEXT: Henry Steele Commager, *The Empire of Reason: How Europe Imagined and America Realized the Enlightenment* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1977); *Henry Steele Commager, *Jefferson, Nationalism, and the Enlightenment* (New York: George Braziller, 1975); *Donald S. Lutz, *The Origins of American Constitutionalism* (Baton Rouge:

Louisiana State University Press, 1988); *Donald S. Lutz, *A Preface to American Political Theory* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992); *Stephen L. Schechter, ed., Donald S. Lutz and Richard B. Bernstein, contrib. eds., *Roots of the Republic: American Founding Documents Interpreted* (Madison: Madison House, 1990); *Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment*, 2 vols. (1965, 1970; New York: W. W. Norton, 1985); *Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985); Adrienne Koch, ed., *The American Enlightenment* (New York: George Braziller, 1965); *Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (1948; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); *Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984); *Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); *Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence* (1922; New York: Vintage/Random House, 1945); *Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Cult of Performance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); *Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); *David Freeman Hawke, *Paine* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974; Norton paperback, 1994); Jack Fruchtman, Jr., *Thomas Paine: Apostle of Freedom* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1994); John Keane, *Tom Paine: A Political Life* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995); *Peter Shaw, *The Character of John Adams* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); John E. Ferling, *John Adams: A Life* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); John R. Howe, Jr., *The Changing Political Thought of John Adams* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Zoltan Haraszti, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952); *Joseph J. Ellis, *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993).

WAR AND DIPLOMACY: *John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed* (1976; rev. and exp. ed., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990); *Don Higginbotham, *The American War of Independence* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); *Piers Mackesy, *The War for America* (1964; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965); *John R. Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); *Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War* (1979; New York: W. W. Norton, 1980); *Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); *Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985).

EFFECTS: *J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (1922; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); *Richard B. Morris, *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); *Edward Countryman, *The American Revolution* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1985); *Merrill M. Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1950; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985); Merrill Jensen, *The American Revolution Within America* (New York: New York University Press, 1974); *Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (1969;

New York: W. W. Norton, 1973); *Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992); *William E. Nelson, *Americanization of the Common Law* (1975; Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); Willi Paul Adams, *The First American Constitutions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980); *Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Jeffersonian Legacies* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993).

OTHERS AFFECTED: *Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963); *Sidney D. Kaplan, *The Black Presence in America in the Era of the American Revolution* (1973; Amherst, Mass.: University Press of Massachusetts, 1987); Duncan MacLeod, *Slavery and the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); *Donald L. Robinson, *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics, 1765-1820* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971); *Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black* (1968; New York: W. W. Norton, 1990); *Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic* (1980; New York: W. W. Norton, 1986); *William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992); *Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974); Robert McCluer Calhoon, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971).

CONFEDERATION AND CONSTITUTION: *Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987); *Richard B. Morris, ed., *Basic Documents on the Confederation and the Constitution* (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger, 1986); Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics* (New York: Knopf, 1979); Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); *Robert Gross, ed., *In Debt to Shays: The Bicentennial of an Agrarian Insurrection* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993); *David Szatmary, *Shays' Rebellion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980); *Bill Moyers, *Moyers: Report from Philadelphia* (New York: Ballantine, 1987); *Herbert J. Storing, *What the Anti-Federalists Were For* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Douglass Adair (Trevor Colbourn, ed.), *Fame and the Founding Fathers* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974); *Robert A. Rutland, *The Ordeal of the Constitution* (1966; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983); *Bernard Schwartz, *The Great Rights of Mankind: A History of the American Bill of Rights* (Madison: Madison House, 1992); *Patrick Conley and John P. Kaminski, eds., *The Constitution and the States* (Madison: Madison House, 1988); *Patrick T. Conley and John P. Kaminski, eds., *The Bill of Rights and the States* (Madison: Madison House, 1992).

The debate over the Constitution generated an extraordinarily rich political literature, and in turn historians have produced a remarkable range of editions and anthologies for one another and for classroom use: Bernard Bailyn, ed., *The Debate on the Constitution*, 2 vols. (New York: Library of America, 1993), is based on the superlative *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, planned by Merrill Jensen and edited by John P. Kaminski,

Gaspare J. Saladino, Richard Leffler, and Charles Schoenleber (11 vols. of 20 projected; Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976--). One-volume selections include *Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist* (many editions);[1] *Ralph Ketcham, *The Antifederalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates* (New York: Mentor/NAL, 1986); Herbert J. Storing and Murray Dry, eds., *The Anti-Federalist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, a one-volume abridgment of the seven-volume *The Complete Anti-Federalist* [1981]); and *Cecelia J. Kenyon, ed., *The Antifederalists* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986).

THE NEW REPUBLIC: *John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789-1801* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); Leonard D. White, *The Federalists* (New York: Macmillan, 1948); *Robert F. Jones, *George Washington* (Bronx, N.Y.: Rose Hill Books of Fordham University Press, 1986); *Gleen A. Phelps, *George Washington and American Constitutionalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); *Barry Schwartz, *George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol* (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1987; Cornell paperback); *Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison* (New York: Macmillan, 1971; Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1988); *Jack N. Rakove, *James Madison and the Creation of the American Republic* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1990 [Library of American Biography]); Lance Banning, *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Creation of the Federal Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Richard K. Matthews, *If Men Were Angels: James Madison and the Heartless Empire of Reason* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1995); John C. Miller, *Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); *Ralph Ketcham, *Presidents above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789-1829* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); *Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); *Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); *Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); *Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Paul A. Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers* (1963; New York: Penguin, 1968); Stephen L.

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[1]Editions of *The Federalist* vary in text. The edition most often used by scholars -- that by Jacob E. Cooke (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961) is based on the original newspaper versions of the essays; an inexpensive reprint of that version is the edition by *Garry Wills (New York: Bantam Classics, 1982). Editions based on the first book publication (1788) include the widely-used version edited by *Clinton Rossiter (New York: Mentor/NAL, 1961), which supplements the modernized 1788 text with excellent indexes of subjects and constitutional provisions; that by Benjamin F. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), which reprints the 1788 text with a superb introduction, is unfortunately out of print. Ralph Ketcham's Mentor/NAL edition of *The Antifederalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates* is a companion volume to the Rossiter *Federalist Papers*.

Schechter and Richard B. Bernstein, eds., *Well Begun: Chronicles of the Early National Period* (Albany, N.Y.: New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, 1989); Stanley Elkins and Eric L. McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Ralph D. Gray and Michael A. Morrison, eds., *New Perspectives on the Early Republic: Essays from the* ***Journal of the Early Republic***, 1981-1991. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1994. A new study that combines local history, frontier history, political history, and literary analysis is Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995); other works in this important genre of frontier political history include *Michael Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1993) (on Ethan Allen and Vermont), and *Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990) (on Maine).

THE AGE OF JEFFERSON: *Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, 6 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948-1981); *Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); *Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986; Ballantine paperback, 1987); *Marshall Smelser, *The Democratic Republicans, 1801-1815* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); *Jan Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jeffersonian America* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983); James M. Banner, Jr., *To the Hartford Convention* (New York: Knopf, 1970); *Linda K. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970); Leonard D. White, *The Jeffersonians* (New York: Macmillan, 1951); *Richard E. Ellis, *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Bernard Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1973); *J. C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); *George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (1952; Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1992); *George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Ralph D. Gray and Michael A. Morrison, eds., *New Perspectives on the Early Republic: Essays from the* ***Journal of the Early Republic****, 1981-1991* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

LEGACY: *Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (1976; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); *Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986); *Drew McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); *Joseph J. Ellis, *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993); *Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press,

1960); and *Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Jeffersonian Legacies* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993).

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ESSAY V. THE AMBIGUOUS DEMOCRACY, 1800-1848

The two best modern syntheses of the Jacksonian era are *Harry Watson, *Liberty and Power* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1990), and *Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948) is a pathbreaking study that in turn has come under extensive criticism for the author's tendency to view Jackson and his contemporaries as direct ideological and political ancestors of the friends and foes of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. The first valuable corrective is *Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America* (1975; rev. ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). See also the fine collection of essays: Ralph D. Gray and Michael A. Morrison, eds., *New Perspectives on the Early Republic: Essays from the **Journal of the Early Republic**, 1981-1991* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1994). The leading biography of Jackson is *Robert V. Remini, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990; Penguin paperback), an abridgment of his three-volume biography (New York: Harper & Row, 1977-1984). See also *John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955); *Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956); *Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); *Glyndon Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Leonard D. White, *The Jacksonians* (New York: Macmillan, 1954); *William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion, I: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); *Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Destruction of American Indians* (New York: Vintage, 1975); *Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); *Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); *Merrill D. Peterson, *The Great Triumvirate: Webster, Clay, and Calhoun* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); *Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); and Irving Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994).

*Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* exists in two excellent modern unabridged editions, both in paperback, one in two volumes by Phillips Bradley, revising the classic translation (New York: Knopf, 1945; Vintage paperback) and one in one volume by George Lawrence (New York: Harper & Row, 1969). On Tocqueville, see *Henry Steele Commager, *Commager on Tocqueville* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993);

*Larry Siedentop, *Tocqueville* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and *Andre Jardin, *Tocqueville* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1990).

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ESSAY VI. "NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN A GREAT CIVIL WAR," 1848-1880

There are literally thousands of books on the Civil War and Reconstruction, including a flood of reprints stimulated by the success of Ken Burns's documentary and Geoffrey Ward's companion volume. The guidelines for the following sampling are accessibility and availability.

*Geoffrey C. Ward, Ken Burns, and Ric Burns, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Knopf, 1990; text-only paperback ed., 1994), (with useful bibliography), is a fine companion volume to the television documentary and can stand alone; the documentary is excellent on the experience of the war and its military history, less good on the causes of the war, first-rate on the political and cultural legacy of the war. James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 1982; rev. ed., 1991), and *James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era, 1848-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), are excellent single-volume histories with fine bibliographies. Classic treatments in several volumes are *Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1958-1974), which leans slightly to the Confederacy, and *Allan Nevins, *The Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Scribner's, 1948-1971; 1992 reprint, 8 vols. in 4), which leans slightly to the Union; Foote is more readable and accessible, while Nevins is more academic in treatment and documentation. Henry Steele Commager, ed., *The Blue and the Gray* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965 and several later reprintings and abridgments), a fine documentary history of the war by participants, should be supplemented by *Ira Berlin, ed., *Free at Last* (New York: The New Press, 1992), a superb documentary history of the slaves and their struggles for freedom. *Robert Penn Warren, *The Legacy of the Civil War* (New York: Random House, 1961, and later reprintings), is a great, ironic essay on the consequences of the war and its effects on the national and regional characters. *Charles Royster, *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans* (New York: Knopf, 1992, paperback, 1993) analyzes the relationships between ideas about war and American thought. *Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Slavery, Law, and Politics: The Dred Scott Case in Historical Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), is an excellent abridgment of Fehrenbacher's 1978 *The Dred Scott Case* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), his Pulitzer Prize-winning history of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. *Michael Les Benedict, *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), is a valuable study that revolutionized historians' understanding of the Johnson impeachment.

Abraham Lincoln is the central political, governmental, and symbolic figure of this period. *Russell Freedman, *Lincoln: A Photobiography* (New York: Ticknor & Fields,

1987), is the best introduction to Lincoln for anyone over the age of ten. *Andrew Delbanco, ed., *The Portable Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1992, paperback ed. 1993), is the best short selection of Lincoln's speeches and letters, with a fine introduction. The best modern edition is Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: Selected Writings* (2 vols., New York: Library of America, 1989), which Delbanco acknowledges; Vintage has published a one-volume paperback selection, with a suspect introduction by Gore Vidal. The two-volume Fehrenbacher edition contains the complete text of the Lincoln-Douglas debates; see also the convenient modern edition by *Robert A. Johannsen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958) (based on the Lincoln scrapbook of the debates, published in facsimile by the Library of Congress).[2] To explore modern Lincoln scholarship, consult first the excellent symposium volume edited by Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *The Historians' Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), which surveys virtually all the leading modern work on Lincoln with excellent commentaries; *Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), is the best book ever written about Lincoln's greatest and most famous speech. David Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995) is probably the best biography to date; *Phillip Shaw Paludan, *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1994) is the best study of its subject. Other fine books on Lincoln include *Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: A Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Knopf, 1952, and later reprints); *David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942, reprint with new introduction, 1962); *David M. Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956; Vintage paperback); *Gabor S. Boritt, *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1978; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); *Robert V. Bruce, *Lincoln and the Tools of War* (1956; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); *Waldo Braden, *Abraham Lincoln as Public Speaker* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); and *James M. McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). *Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), and *Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Lincoln in Text and Context:*

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[2]The edition by *Harold Holzer (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), purports to present the "complete, unexpurgated text" of the debates. The "originals" of the debates are newspaper transcripts; Democratic newspapers tended to skew their coverage in favor of Douglas and Republican newspapers tended to slant their coverage in favor of Lincoln. When Lincoln prepared his scrapbook, the basis for most modern editions of the debates, he used Democratic texts of Douglas's speeches and Republican texts of Lincoln's speeches. To correct for these biases, Holzer used Democratic texts of Lincoln's speeches and Republican texts of Douglas' speeches. The difficulty with his choice is that partisan editors not only "cleaned up" the remarks of their chosen candidate -- they also exaggerated the flaws and lapses of the opposing candidate. Thus, Holzer's edition does both Lincoln and Douglas an unwitting disservice under the guise of presenting a "complete, unexpurgated" text.

Selected Essays (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), deserve special mention for scholarly breadth and rigor and for graceful, accessible writing. The most recent concise biography is Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Last Best Hope: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993, co-published with the Illinois State Historical Society and the Henry E. Huntington Library). See also *Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), a Pulitzer Prize-winning history of its subject. There are at least two other full-length lives of Lincoln in preparation. (Andrew Delbanco praised *Philip Kunhardt et al., *Lincoln* [New York: Knopf, 1992] highly in his review for *The New York Times Book Review*. The documentary it accompanied was sloppy, confusing, and portentous.) See also the fine study by Merrill D. Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). On the assassination of Lincoln, see the confusingly titled books by *Thomas Reed Turner, *Beware the People Weeping: Public Opinion and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), and *William Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983). Turner's book, the best analysis of the events of the assassination, is surprisingly thin on public opinion; Hanchett's book is actually an entertaining, though diffuse, debunking of conspiracy theories past and present.

*Ulysses S. Grant's *Memoirs* (many editions) and *William Tecumseh Sherman's *Memoirs* (many editions) are classic autobiographies, both newly issued in authoritative editions by the Library of America. Valuable biographies include *William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991); *Robert Penn Warren, *Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980); *William S. McFeely, *Grant* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982); *John Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1993; Vintage, 1994);*Stephen B. Sears, *George McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1988); *Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Slave and Citizen: The Life of Frederick Douglass* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981); *William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955); *Hans Trefousse, *Andrew Johnson* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); and Stanton Garner, *The Civil War World of Herman Melville* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

*Ira Berlin et al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); *Ira Berlin et al., eds., *Free at Last* (New York: The New Press, 1994); *Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Knopf, 1974); and *Julius Lester, *To Be a Slave* (New York: Scholastic, 1978), are first-rate studies of the slave experience.

*David Potter (completed by Don E. Fehrenbacher), *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); *Emory Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979); *Phillip Shaw Paludan, *"A People's Contest": The Union*

in the Civil War, 1861-1865 (New York: Harper & Row, 1989); and *Eric S. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988; abridged as *A Short History of Reconstruction* [New York: Harper & Row, 1990]) are volumes from the authoritative and accessible New American Nation series edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris.

*Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels: A Novel of Gettysburg* (New York: David McKay, 1974, and later reprintings) is one of the greatest American historical novel (though some readers still prefer *Stephen Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage* [1900 and many later editions], which emphasizes the anonymous experience of war rather than the experience of the Civil War). Shaara's only rival is *Shelby Foote, *Shiloh* (1952: New York: Vintage/Random House, 1993), a brilliant, deeply moving account of the battle through the imagined testimonies of several witnesses at key points in the Shiloh campaign. Paxton Davis, *Four Days* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), is an excellent novel on Gettysburg for middle-school students.

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ESSAY VII. "WHAT, THEN, IS THIS AMERICAN?" 1865-1900

Standard works on various aspects of the period include *Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974); *Alan Trachtenberg, *The Invention of America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978); *Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977); and *Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991). James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York: Macmillan, 1888 and many later editions) ranks with Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* as a sensitive exploration of the United States.

*Thomas R. Hughes, *American Genesis* (New York: Viking, 1990) is a good treatment of the interplay between technology and society since the 1870s. On labor, see *Thomas Brooks, *Toil and Trouble* (New York: Delta, 1970), and *Richard B. Morris, ed., *A History of the American Worker* (1976; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978). For a challenging New Left perspective, see *American Social History Project, *Who Built America?*, 2 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1990, 1992). Specialized studies include *Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1991); *Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978); Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Scale and Scope* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); *William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); *Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy, 1870-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

On immigration, see *Maldwyn Jones, *American Immigration*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); *Roger Daniels, *Coming to America* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); and *John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963 and later editions). *Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978; Schocken paperback, 1992) deals with Jewish immigration. On education, see *Lawrence M. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980). *Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, and *Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, are available in many different editions.

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ESSAY VIII. WAVES OF REFORM, 1880-1921

The most recent synthesis, especially notable for its attempts to integrate "new" and "old" history, is *Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1917* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985) seeks to achieve the same goals, but with less success. Standard older works include *Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1955) (Progressives as backward-looking middle-class professionals concerned to preserve their status and their understanding of the world against the forces of economic and social change); *Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967) (challenges Hofstadter, asserting that Progressives were forward-looking group who sought to direct the future development of American life); *Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Knopf, 1955); and the older but still useful *Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950). Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of American Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York: Free Press, 1963), is the leading New Left interpretation.

Excellent political studies include *William J. Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest: Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980); *George S. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1910* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); *Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and Progressive America, 1910-1917* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); and *Robert Ferrell, **Woodrow Wilson and World War I, 1917-1921* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987). Despite these volumes' titles, which would suggest a largely biographical approach, they are actually comprehensive and valuable historical syntheses.

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ESSAY IX. BOOM AND BUST, 1921-1933

*Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991), continues to be useful for this period. Two older stand-bys that are still exciting and useful, and accessible to secondary-school and high-school students, are *Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York: Harper, 1931), and **Since Yesterday* (New York: Harper, 1940); the first book covers the 1920s and the second discusses the 1930s. See also *William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity: 1914-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

On prohibition, see, above all, *Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976).

*John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Great Crash: 1929*, rev. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979) is an excellent discussion of the 1929 stock-market crash as an economic phenomenon. *Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929-1941* (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1984; rev. ed., 1993), is an equally fine treatment by an historian; see also *Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Pantheon, 1970); *Michael Bernstein, *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Economic Change in America, 1929-1939* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

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ESSAY X. THE AGE OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1933-1945

Yet again, see *Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991) After three decades, *William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) is still perhaps the finest single-volume treatment of its subject; see also *William E. Leuchtenburg, *In the Shadow of FDR*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988); look also for Leuchtenberg's forthcoming studies -- a collection of essays on the Supreme Court in the Age of Roosevelt and a two-volume study of the Court-packing crisis of 1937 (both from Oxford University Press). *Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Knopf, 1955); *Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal* (London: Longman, 1990); *James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox 1882-1940* (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1955) and *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom 1940-1945* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970); and *Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990). Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., has published three volumes of **The Age of Roosevelt*: *The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956), *The Coming of the New Deal, 1933-1934* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958), and *The Politics of Upheaval, 1935-1936* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960); he is at work on a fourth volume. *Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great*

Depression: America, 1929-1941 (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1984, rev. ed., 1993) continues to be relevant in this period. *Frederick Lewis Allen, *Since Yesterday* (New York: Harper, 1940, and later reprintings) is still a vivid account of the 1930s. See also *Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Knopf, 1982); Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Depression and War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995); *T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Knopf, 1969); Ellis Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); *Peter H. Irons, *The New Deal Lawyers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); *T.H. Watkins, *Fortunate Pilgrim: Harold Ickes and His Times, 1874-1952* (New York: Henry Holt, 1991); Bernard Bellush, *The Failure of the NRA* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975); *Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978); *Nancy Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

On America in the war years, see *John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory* (New York: Viking, 1976); *Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* (New York: Pantheon; 1984); *David Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War* (New York: Knopf, 1987); *Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Japanese-Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983; rev. ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); A. Russell Buchanan, *The United States and World War II*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); *Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Two-Ocean War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963); *David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984); *Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China* (New York: Macmillan, 1971; Bantam paperback); *John W. Dower, *Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986); *Ronald Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun: The American War with Japan* (New York: Free Press, 1985); and *Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). On the atomic bomb, see *Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986); *Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance* (New York: Knopf, 1975; Vintage paperback with new introduction, 1990); *Gregg Herken, *The Winning Weapon* (New York: Knopf, 1980).

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ESSAY XI. LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, 1945-1975

*Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time* (New York: Doubleday, 1976; Vintage paperback) is an excellent narrative history of the period from the end of the Second World War to the resignation of Richard Nixon; because Hodgson is a veteran British journalist, he offers a refreshing perspective on American history. Michael S. Sherry's forthcoming study of the same period -- to be published in October 1995 by Yale University Press -- has already received extensive and respectful attention. See also *William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991);

*William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974; Bantam paperback), a useful and entertaining narrative history, modeled on the books of Frederick Lewis Allen, covering the period 1932-1972; *David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard/Random House, 1993); *Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (1987; rev. ed., New York: Bantam, 1993), an angry, passionate, and for those reasons useful history of the various movements that made the Sixties what they were; and *Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

The veteran journalist Theodore H. White wrote a remarkable series of books (many of them classics of journalism and commentary) of great value for any student of this period: *Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum, 1961, and several paperback editions); Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1964* (New York: Atheneum, 1965); Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1968* (New York: Atheneum, 1969); Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1972* (New York: Atheneum, 1973); Theodore H. White, *Breach of Faith: The Fall of Richard Nixon* (New York: Reader's Digest Press/Random House, 1975; Dell paperback); *Theodore H. White, *In Search of History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978; Warner paperback), a superb memoir of journalism and politics; *Theodore H. White, *America in Search of Itself: The Making of the President, 1956-1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982; Warner paperback), a summation of *The Making of the President* series.

Notable biographies include: *David McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992); Robert Ferrell, *Harry S Truman* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1994); Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969); Herbert S. Parmet, *Eisenhower and the American Crusades* (New York: Macmillan, 1972); Herbert S. Parmet, *Jack: The Struggles of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Dial Press, 1978); Herbert S. Parmet, *JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Dial Press, 1982); *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965); *Theodore M. Sorenson, *Kennedy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); *James N. Giglio, *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); *Richard Reeves, *President Kennedy: Profile in Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); Victor S. Navasky, *Kennedy Justice* (New York: Atheneum, 1972); *Gerald Posner, *Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Random House, 1993) (the best book on the most controversial assassination in American history, disposing of three decades of conspiracy theories and thus a model not only of contemporary history but of historical method); *Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), the first of two volumes on Lyndon B. Johnson; *Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978); Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990); Garry Wills, *Nixon Agonistes: The Crisis of the Self-Made Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970); Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990);

*G. Edward White, *Earl Warren: A Public Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). At least two biographies of Truman -- by Robert Ferrell and Alonzo Hamby, both specialists in the period -- are in press; and Dallek is working to complete the second volume of his life of Johnson.

On the civil rights movement: *Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), the first of two projected volumes on Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights movement; *David Garrow, *Protest at Selma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); *David Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981; Penguin paperback); *David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Morrow, 1986; Vintage paperback); *Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

On domestic policies such as the War on Poverty, see *Tom Wicker, *JFK and LBJ: The Influence of Personality on Politics* (1968; Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993); *Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor* (1971; rev. ed., New York: Vintage paperback, 1993); *James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900-1980* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); *Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

On the Cold War, see *Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977; revised ed. in Penguin paperback, 1990); *Melvin Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); *John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); *John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); *John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); *George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); *George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1950-1963* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970); *Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1987); *Walter McDougall, *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Richard D. Mahoney, *JFK: Ordeal in Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

On Vietnam, see, among the hundreds of books, *Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History*, rev. ed. (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990); *Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 1972); *David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972; 20th anniversary ed., 1992); *Neil Sheehan and others, *The Pentagon Papers: The New York Times edition* (New York: Bantam, 1971); *Sanford J. Ungar, *The Papers and the Papers* (1972; 20th anniversary ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); *George McT. Kahin, *Intervention* (New York: Knopf, 1986; Anchor paperback); *William Shawcross, *Sideshow:*

Nixon, Kissinger, and the Destruction of Cambodia (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978, and revised editions); *Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983); *Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 1989); *Neil Sheehan, *After the War* (New York: Random House, 1992).

On Watergate, see *Stanley Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate* (New York: Knopf, 1990; W. W. Norton paperback); *J. Anthony Lukas, *Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years* (New York: Doubleday, 1978; updated edition in Penguin paperback); and Fred Emery, *Watergate* (New York: Times Books, 1994 -- the companion volume to the BBC/Discovery Channel documentary miniseries). See also Philip Kurland, *Watergate and the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); *Jonathan Schell, *The Time of Illusion* (New York: Knopf, 1976); *Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974); *Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, *The Final Days* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975).

On other important issues, see *Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); *David Halberstam, *The Reckoning* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), an epic comparative study of the American and Japanese automobile industries that provides a valuable perspective on the economic, cultural, and political histories of both nations; *David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Knopf, 1980), a sprawling history of modern American journalism; J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), a superb history of Boston's response to federal courts' orders to use compulsory school busing to effect school integration; Jimmy Carter, *Turning Point* (New York: Times Books, 1992), a fine memoir of how "old South" politics met "new South" realities.

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ESSAY XII. A NATION IN QUANDARY, 1975--

The following books provide a sobering view of the workings of the modern political process: *Hedrick Smith, *The Power Game: How Washington Works* (New York: Random House, 1988; Ballantine paperback); *Jeffrey Birnbaum and Alan S. Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers, Lobbyists and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform* (New York: Random House, 1987; Vintage paperback); *Brooks Jackson, *Honest Graft: Big Money and the American Political Process* (New York: Knopf, 1990; rev. ed., Washington, D.C.: Farragut, 1991); *Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction, and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Eloquence in an Electronic Age: The Transformation of Political Speechmaking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); *Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Robert Birdsell, *Presidential Debates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); *Benjamin M. Friedman,

Day of Reckoning: The Consequences of American Economic Policy (New York: Random House, 1988; rev. ed. in Vintage paperback); and *Theodore H. White, *America in Search of Itself: The Making of the President, 1956-1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982; Warner paperback).

The following books provide an equally sobering view of the "culture wars": *James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992); Robert Hughes, *Culture of Complaint* (New York: New York Public Library/Oxford University Press, 1993). Most other books on the "culture wars," multiculturalism, and political correctness add little to these three save shrillness -- see, e.g., Richard Bernstein, *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America's Future* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), and *Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

Other excellent books on modern American life include: *William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); *David Simon, *Homicide: A Year on the Killing Streets* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991; Ballantine paperback); David Garrow, *Liberty and Sexuality: The Making of Roe v. Wade* (New York: Lisa Drew Books/Maxwell Macmillan, 1994); *Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin, 1993); *Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); *Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); *Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Knopf, 1991; Vintage paperback); *William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); *Cynthia Harrison, *On Account of Sex* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); *Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

The best of the books produced by the end of the Cold War include *Timothy Garton Ash, *The Uses of Adversity* (New York: Random House, 1989; Vintage paperback); *Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern: The Revolutions of '89 as witnessed in Berlin, Budapest, Warsaw, and Prague* (New York: Random House, 1990; Vintage paperback, 1993); *Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (New York: Random House, 1993); and *David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Random House, 1993; updated Vintage paperback, 1994).

On the Carter years, *Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith* (New York: Bantam, 1982) is stiff and formal but reflective; *Burton I. Kaufman, *The Presidency of James Earl Carter* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), is skilled and thoughtful.

On the Reagan years, *Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), the best biography, focuses on the Presidency; *Garry Wills,

Reagan's America (New York: Doubleday, 1988; updated ed., Penguin paperback), provides intellectual background and context. See also *William Greider, *The Education of David Stockman and Other Americans* (1982; revised ed., New York: New American Library, 1984), *Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992) (Central America); and *Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, *Landslide: The Unmaking of the President, 1984-1988* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988; updated paperback, 1989). *Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990) and *Nancy Reagan, *My Story* (New York: Random House, 1990) are self-justifying and uninformative, as are virtually all other memoirs by figures in both parties. The "official" biography by Reagan biographer Edmund Morris has not yet appeared.

It is too soon for books on the Bush years to reach beyond the level of journalism; see, e.g., *Bob Woodward, *The Commanders* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). *Theodore Draper, *A Very Thin Line* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1990) is a useful history of the Iran-contra affairs, but see *Bill Moyers, *The Secret Government: The Constitution in Crisis* (Cabin John, MD: Seven Locks Press, 1988) for an analysis that takes more seriously than Draper does the threat the "secret government" posed to the American constitutional system. See also the excellent study by *Harold Hongju Koh, *The National Security Constitution: Sharing Power after the Iran-Contra Affair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); *Francis D. Wormuth and Edwin P. Firmage, *To Chain the Dog of War: The War Power of Congress in History and in Law* (1986; rev. ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); *John Hart Ely, *War and Responsibility* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); and *Joseph E. Persico, *Casey* (1990; New York: Penguin, 1991).

The Clinton years have not generated any books that approach the solidity or reliability of history -- only journalistic accounts such as Bob Woodward, *The Agenda* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), and Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1994). Woodward is already at work on another book on the Clinton presidency and the Republicans' struggle to supplant him, to appear in the summer of 1996.